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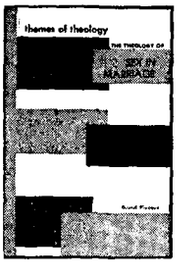

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Meaning of Democracy

EVERY POLITICAL debate is fought, on both sides, for "justice." Every political spokesman declares his dedication to the principle that "right" shall prevail. But if these expressions are inevitable in our political oratory, they are rarely encountered in any practical or "realistic" political discussion.

Obviously, continuous avowals of virtuous intent are neither necessary nor desirable in the prosecution of good works of any kind, even in politics. In fact, the most sincere commitment to an ideal, coupled with a minimal amount of self-knowledge, is likely to influence us away from talk of righteousness and its attendant danger of hypocrisy.

Yet we wonder if there is not another, less comfortable, explanation for the "hard-headedness" which has come to characterize the discussion of public issues in the United States today? We refer to the increasing tendency for our political exchanges to be "political" in the meanest, narrowest sense. In accordance with this tendency, our public questions are almost immediately reduced to an inquiry about who has the votes, or how many we can muster. This, we submit, is not merely "realism"—or, if it is, it is the kind of realism shown by Josef Stalin when he asked, "How many divisions has the Pope?"

Stalin asked his question contemptuously, of course, and the story of his asking it is told to exemplify his brutality and contempt for religion. But the anecdote also reveals his ignorance, and in the area where he was presumably the expert: that of power. For divisions are not the only source of power, nor always the strongest or most lasting.

But what has all this to do with the political situation in America today? Simply that more and more of us seem to believe that power—votes, pressures, interests—is the only political reality. More and more of us seem to believe that Fourth of July oratory about democracy is all very well, but what really pays off in terms of getting anything done is being able to deliver the goods, i. e., the votes, or the letters or telegrams. If you can deliver, then you get your way; if you can't deliver, then the other group gets its way.

All this is not to deny the role of simple power in the life of our democracy, nor to sigh for a more ideal world. We do not deplore the hard political or any sort of facts of life. Our intention is merely to reaffirm our belief in some political facts other than the undeniable "hard" ones. In brief, we believe that in the functioning of a democracy too there are stronger things than divisions.

Every thinker who has directed his attention to the dangers and potentialities of democracy has seen that such a society cannot be simply an arena where conflicting ideas and opposing groups fight to the death for dominance. Such a notion conjures up a jungle scene, not the image of a united people governing themselves according to their expressed and cherished principles of life.

THERE IS, then, as Jacques Maritain and lately Father John Courtney Murray have pointed out, at the core of every true democracy a body of truths held in common. As we move out from the center of this core of belief, we find less and less perfect agreement, and in almost every particular case there may be differences within a larger area of agreement. For our purposes here, however, we are concerned with an article of our democratic belief about which there is no dispute: that the crucial consideration in all our political activity shall be the furtherance of the common good.

The conscious dedication of a democratic people to the pursuit of the common good means a rejection of sheer majoritarianism; it means a rejection of the "open contest" notion and a kind of Fable of the Bees belief that the common good will be served mechanically and automatically by the clash of competing self-interests.

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But is it unrealistic to expect people in a democracy or anywhere else to conduct themselves with such largeness of vision, such unselfishness? We think not. It is unrealistic to expect all of the people to transcend their selfishness, or all of the people all of the time. And when they do not, then we have learned that reliance on the competition among divergent views, on majority rule, furnishes the most practical avenue of decision, and the best guarantee against irrevocable tyranny. Yet even so, it is by no means unrealistic to expect that men in a democracy will at least seek to be guided by this concept of the common good, that the concept itself will be a meaningful one.

Consciousness of the requirements of the common good will not, of course, lead us all into instant and total agreement. There will be disagreements and conflicts in the working out of our many difficult problems. But some reflections on the common good may save us from a few of our most troublesome errors. Perhaps we will be able to remember that the existence of a "right" does not make any particular political consequence an inevitability. There are innumerable "rights" held by the people and groups of a state; these "rights" often overlap; certainly they affect one another; sometimes they conflict with one another.

Often those who are fighting for a "right" ask, rhetorically (because they are really not asking) and bitterly: "Can injustice ever contribute to the common good?" Now the terms of such a question are not proper, since to limit the exercise of a right is not ipso facto unjust, but to accept the improper terms, the question is sometimes easily answered in a way that might surprise the askers: Yes. It may well be that the common good, the well-being of the body politic as a whole, positively demands the limitation, deferral, even the denial, of the exercise of a certain "right." On the other hand, however, a minority's "rights" are in no way diminished by the fact of its being a minority. The common good may demand that a minority's "right" be recognized even against the conviction of the majority.

As we said, the invocation of the principle of the common good will not mean the end of all political discord. But it seems to us that arguments based on this idea are likely to be more profitable than mere group conflicts. Agreeing that we will debate only ways of working out the good which every citizen desires for the nation, and not his group, might remove some of the bitterness and resentment which deface much of our public discussion today. It might permit us to escape from the view of political activity as a struggle between ins and outs, rich and poor, religious groups, racial groups or any other category that divides us. The first loyalty of everyone in a democracy is to the common good, then, not to friends, neighbors, co-religionists, co-workers. "Our own," in other words, is all of us.

"The Call of the Council"

WITHIN the space of a few years, the annual Pastoral Letters of Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, have achieved an important place in American Catholic life. His *The Christian and The Community* (1960) and *Moral Values and The American Society* (1961) were widely and justly acclaimed for the balanced and wise contributions they made to some central and persistent discussions. His latest Pastoral Letter, *The Call of The Council,* is equally worthy of praise.

Describing, first of all, the role of the Councils in the history of the Church, Cardinal Cushing goes on to point out the moral crisis apparent in contemporary life. He then discusses the purposes of the forthcoming Second Council of the Vatican: the growth of the Church, the renewal of the spirit of the Gospel, the adjustment of Church discipline to modern life, and the unity of Christians.

Three points in particular stand out in our minds; points which, only a short time ago, few dared or thought to mention. The most striking, perhaps, is the Cardinal's statement that God has made the Church's "encounters with heresy and schism . . . fruitful and through them the Church has come to a better understanding of herself." In relationship to this, he notes the absolute importance of the Church's putting its own house in order as a means of achieving ultimate Christian unity.

Another point worthy of special note is Cardinal Cushing's announcement that he will, in the near future, form an Archdiocesan Ecumenical Committee to be composed of priests and laymen. In this he will follow the precedent already established by Archbishop Lawrence J. Shehan of Baltimore. Concerning the work of the Committee, Cardinal Cushing notes that "the work of unity . . . is born and grows in the pluralistic neighborhood" and is not the exclusive preserve of ecumenical councils.

Finally, in a particularly forceful passage, the Cardinal urges all to pray that those who take part in the deliberations of the Council will "keep what is useful in the traditions of the past, and at the same time . . . turn from the past when new orientations of policy will be needed for the safeguarding of changeless truths." The Cardinal's plea is one that can hardly be denied and is a fine expression of what every Catholic should hope for from the Council.

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Another Bad Year

ALTHOUGH people generally are more aware than they were of the intolerable conditions endured by the American migratory farm worker, his situation actually improved very little during 1961. He still has the hardest time finding work and is paid the lowest wage; he continues to be excluded from the wage, hour, social security and other protections enjoyed by most other American workers. The National Sharecroppers Fund (112 East 19 Street, New York 3, N.Y.) reports that his average annual income is still barely one thousand dollars.

Such is the outcome of a long chain of circumstances often beginning with forced relinquishment of a family farm that is no longer tenable. The N.S.F. finds it particularly significant that during the 1950's some four million Americans had to leave these farms, although the amount of land cultivated decreased only 3.3 per cent. Most of these uprooted workers were unskilled, or semi-skilled, and many turned to migratory farm work for a livelihood. Mechanization and merging on a large scale are unlikely to be reversed; what can be done directly for our displaced farmers whom commercial operators hire, as they need them, on a seasonal basis?

The trouble is that imported Mexican farm labor for cotton, fruit and vegetable production, especially in California and the Southwest, is favored over domestic labor by many large growers. The Mexicans are less educated, more docile, more unorganized and more satisfied with a low wage that is considerably higher than the going rate in their own country. At their peak employment season last year they numbered nearly as many as the domestic migratory farm workers then employed (221,000 as against 241,000). The effect of their importation on such a scale on the opportunities for domestic employment is obvious.

Extension of Public Law 78, which specifies the conditions for the Mexican labor importation program, encountered stronger opposition than before. It was again adopted and signed, however, with a few minor limitations that, if enforced, would debar these Mexicans from operating or servicing power-driven farm machinery and require employers to have offered comparable wages and working conditions to domestic workers before being able to claim their need for bringing in labor from below the border. In a year in which the evils of the system were brought before millions of Americans by the T.V. documentary, "Harvest of Shame," no major remedial legislation was adopted.

Five bills aimed at some of these evils passed the Senate but were held up in the House. For this reason the constructive labors of Senator Harrison Williams to combat exploitation of child labor, deprivation of schooling, abuses by farm labor contractors and the high incidence of poor health among migratory workers (and to establish a National Advisory Council to inform the President and the Secretary of Labor on these matters) have so far been thwarted.

Several leading members of the Cabinet are intensely concerned over the persisting plight of American farm workers and their families. Harrison Williams has had strong support in the Senate and Representative Zelenko some support in the House. The nation's press has expressed indignation on occasion. Widespread, persistent public demand for equal and equitable treatment for these shamefully underprivileged Americans is the ingredient still lacking.

Genteel Birchism

FOR THE MOST part, we suspect, the American electorate has a healthy skepticism about the more radical charges that Republicans and Democrats throw at one another during the heat of political campaigns. There are good reasons, often enough, to be skeptical: the hunt for an eye-catching, passion-arousing issue is common to both parties and, once found, little effort is spared to embellish and dramatize it. Only the most innocent of innocents is likely, however, to fail to note the way in which issues are inflated and distorted by the attendant publicity campaign.

But innocents, we are afraid, abound. For that reason, it is particularly distressing to note what appears to be a new turn in the Republican Party's issue-creating apparatus. That turn was apparently signaled by a recent campaign directive sent to Republican party leaders by the Republican national chairman, Representative William E. Miller. Alluding to a recently published collection of essays, *The Liberal Papers*, edited by Representative James Roosevelt, Mr. Miller said that, "The Democratic-sponsored surrender plan provides more than an answer to isolated efforts falsely to link the Republican Party with the view of the John Birch Society and similar groups." To underscore Representative Miller's thrust, Senator Everett Dirksen, in a March 15 news conference, stated that, "This Democratic-sponsored book could well be renamed *Our American Munich.*"

Regardless of the merits of the book, which includes contributions by a number of distinguished American thinkers, there is no reason whatsoever to call it "The Democratic-sponsored surrender

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plan. . . . " As Representative Roosevelt describes it, the book "grew out of discussions and papers prepared for a group of Congressional colleagues during the Eighty-sixth Congress, 1959-60." In short, the book was a purely private venture which in no sense can be described as representing the official policy of the Democratic Party—that much ought to be obvious.

Such a distinction, however, appears to be of small moment to Messrs. Miller and Dirksen. They need an issue and, to use a phrase which Senator Dirksen enjoys, "surrender on the Left" provides a perfectly neat and simple one. And it has apparently been left to Senator Barry Goldwater to state the policy we ought to pursue. Speaking before the Senate on March 15, Mr. Goldwater urged the adoption of a policy of "victory," and saw *The Liberal Papers* as part of "a subversion that is dedicated to innuendo, to half truths, concerning what the United States should be doing." For good measure, the Senator from Arizona added that, "If the time comes that there is no action to save our freedom other than to instigate an all-out nuclear war, my feeling is that is the time when nuclear war will come."

Senator Goldwater, characteristically, failed to specify in what sense "an all-out nuclear war" could bring us "victory." But that omission is hardly surprising; there is little to suggest that either Senator Goldwater or others who shout the word "victory" have given much thought to the consequences of total nuclear war. Nor, it is clear, do the Republican campaign strategists care very much about delving into the meaning of the word "victory" in the nuclear age. What counts is that they believe the charge of "surrender on the Left" makes a good slogan, the kind of slogan useful for attacking liberal Democrats and appealing to those innocent souls who quickly become impatient with the slow ways of reasonable men.

The Prayer of God's People

Cologne

THE LITURGICAL movement in Germany can tick off a number of dates and names that dramatize its age. The *Collectio Rituum* of 1950 accorded a strong, new role to the vernacular. The *Liturgische Kommission der deutschen Bischöfe* of 1940 banded the hierarchy together in difficult times for a concerted effort in liturgical worship. Maria Laach, Guardini, Parsch are salient names of the twenties and thirties when the liturgy quit the restricted realms of aesthetic and intellectual satisfaction to work its way into the parish life of the German church.

All this is well known. Not so well known, however, is the fact that markers are constantly sinking into the ground as new stretches of achievement are charted. For us, perhaps, the expression "liturgical movement" does not adequately cover what is taking place. In America, the term bears the connotation of a few here and there trying something new. In Germany, however, it embraces the Catholic folk in their public worship while at the same time marking them in their private piety.

In 1960, at the International Eucharistic Congress in Munich, the liturgical life shone through as the matrix of true eucharistic devotion, due in large part to the host country. In 1961, the German hierarchy published a new directory in their continuing efforts to make the liturgy meaningful and effective for the people. As the bishops ruled the "concelebrating people of God" into responsibility for the proper accomplishment of the Mass, it was evident that here the liturgy was coming more and more to play in fact its proper role in the life of the Church.

Several books of recent vintage reveal the constant extension of liturgical knowledge through research and study. Perhaps the most significant is *Paschatis Sollemnia,* a collection of studies offered Josef A. Jungmann, S.J., on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. In 1960 there appeared a new book by Jungmann himself, a collection of essays spanning the many concerns of liturgical scholarship. From another liturgical group, this one centering in Munich, has recently come *Pietas Liturgica,* in which Walter Düring studies the forms of the liturgical piety of the past in an effort to found and direct the lines of Christian piety today.

The work of scholars is of crucial importance. They produce the clarifications needed to develop and solidify the primary actions of the faithful. But what ultimately matters is not the formulation of the scholar but the prayer of God's people. The study of the liturgy in Germany directs the practice of the Christian community.

SINCE the war, every diocese in Germany has put out a new prayerbook to serve as liturgical text for the people. Again the terminology proves treacherous for American experience is familiar with vastly different publications that bear the same name. Yet *Gebetbuch*—prayerbook—is essentially what the book is: the manual used for prayer. The difference arises from the fact that the Gebetbuch is the established text for the community's various moments of prayer.

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The prayerbooks here have developed far beyond those of prewar days, which bore the clear imprint of their descent from Counter-Reformation times. They are the missals for Sundays, yet they are not the missals known in America, translations of the celebrant's Latin. Rather, the text is prepared for the Mass that has become the standard public Mass in Germany, with parts apportioned both to a leader and to the people. The Mass is not heard or followed; it is one in which the community plays a vocal part in various ways. The directory of the German bishops recognizes two types of Masses: one in which the celebrant sings and one in which he does not. The former is the solemn form, the latter the regular one.

The prayerbooks give liturgical rhythms and forms to the devotions and practices important in German Catholic life. This is especially evident in the *Andacht*, the Sunday and occasional weekday service that corresponds in German piety to benediction or novena devotions in American parish life.

A model service opens with a psalm, then continues with a reading from Scripture or the Fathers. Several minutes' silence lets the words sink in. There follows a series of responsory and intercessory prayers, resembling the well-known litanies. The eucharistic blessing concludes. Songs are distributed throughout the half hour. Those inspired by the psalms sound the accents of the Church's ancient vesperal tradition, and the readings readily develop the moment of Christ's mystery attended to by the day's liturgy.

The form of the *Andacht* is not some innovation of several apostles of the liturgy but the natural effect of the pressure exerted by the liturgical movement itself. From initial concern with the Mass, liturgical renovation has reached out, for example, to remold the practice of baptism and matrimony. And the *Gebetbuch* has placed in the hands of the faithful a text that enables them to enter the rhythms of worship offered by the Church. Now, after much has been gained by the effort of each diocese to profit from what has taken place elsewhere, a resolution is slowly forming to bring about a final prayerbook for the whole of Germany, with searching selection of parts and songs as well as set, polished language.

YET this is still not far enough. The *Gebetbuch* might be a useful tool. However, just what are the results of its use by the faithful? The question is as difficult as it is interesting. From all evidence, the prayerbook has decisively marked the various moments of prayer in the parish's weekly life. But how deeply it has worked on the faithful, what sort of Christians it has made them is at once the decisive and the impossible question.

The hope of the whole liturgical movement is the revitalization of Christianity in our day, but to try to gauge the progress towards this goal supposes an ability to clock the movement of grace. Yet the working hypothesis of the movement is as valid as our faith: the immersion of the faithful in the mystery of Christ's death and resurrection produces the new man of the Pauline epistles. If the faithful are active during the liturgy, their communion with Christ is favored. If they have clear in their minds what they set about with enthusiasm, then they are inviting the onrush of the Spirit, whom Pope Pius XII designated as the animator of the liturgical movement.

It is this point of conscious participation that appears as the crucial one at the moment. Many priests are aware that the participation of the faithful is too often merely an outward thing. Moreover, the "participation" so often referred to is not as genuine as is easily supposed. The activity of the faithful tends to cover and limit the sacred action of the priest at the altar; there is not the union between the two that must exist, and which the term "participation" implies.

The faithful and the celebrant must be engaged in a common action, everyone playing the part accorded him by the liturgy. In their attempts to bring the people deeper into the happening of the Mass, pastors have become sensitive to the weaknesses of the scriptural passages selected for the many Masses, of the liturgical inadequacies of many hymns, of the murky translations that often blunt the prayer text, of the language discrepancy and of the whole biblical and ritual education the faithful need if they are to undergo the sought-after, longed-for immersion in the mystery of Christ's death and resurrection.

A good indication of the work being done to prepare the faithful for their song and prayer and to diminish the distance between priest and people was a recent pastoral-liturgical workshop (or workweek, *Werkwoche*) held in the Triers diocese. The study theme was the eucharistic celebration in the parish. Against the background of the liturgical progress of past years and the life of the parish, scholars and pastors studied the many facets of the parish's Mass: Preparation, the role of the priest, the task of the "commentator," song and psalm in the Mass, etc. "The diocesan prayerbook in all its parts should, much more than in the past, serve as object of study, meditation, instruction and preaching. The songs and prayers especially need to be more deeply understood."

In commenting on the results of the *Werkwoche*, the Most Rev. Matthias Wehr, Bishop of Triers, said: "The liturgy must arouse us and lead us to renew and deepen our religious life." His words also serve to describe the undertaking that in Germany is over fifty years old but ever breaking new ground.

ETHELBERT FLOOD

(Father Ethelbert Flood, O.F.M., is an American priest now in Germany.)

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A Race Nobody Wins

THE ARMS RACE is a mad business. So too is economics. Put the two together, and you get government leaders worrying about what would happen to the economy if we stopped spending our money on armaments—the same arms we pray we will never have to use.

Now ten economists from both East and West have prepared a report for the U.N. on the subject and they say we can rest easy: "There should be no doubt," they wrote, "that the diverson to peaceful purposes of the resources now in military use could be accomplished to the benefit of all countries and lead to the improvement of world economic and social conditions." And in a positive burst of enthusiasm the economists went on: "The achievement of general and complete disarmament would be an unqualified blessing to all mankind."

There is a certain amount of mystery about the report, at least as far as the U.S.S.R.'s reasons for participating are concerned. For one thing, the disarmament commission was originally established under the direct supervision of Dag Hammarskjold, but despite the Soviet Union's public insistence that it would not officially recognize the Secretary-General, it named a top-rank economist to the study-group. Secondly, it is reported that the Soviet and satellite representatives were amazingly free in giving details about military expenditures in their countries—a radical switch from normal Communist practice. Finally, although it has long been a central point in Communist doctrine that capitalist countries need arms spending to keep their economies from complete collapse, in the U.N. report the Communist bloc economists deny this once unassailable Marxist maxim.

I suppose those who specialize in Kremlin affairs will disagree mightily among themselves as to why the Russians have reversed themselves in this crucial area. My own guess would be that this time ideology has yielded to plain common sense. The armament race is burden enough to us; to the Soviet Union, already suffering from food shortages, it must seem a crippling load.

The sum the world now spends on armaments is staggering, amounting, according to the experts, to roughly one hundred and twenty billion dollars a year. That means we spend for military purposes a sum equal to between eight and nine per cent of the world's annual output of goods and services. Or, to put it another way, the sum is equivalent to at least two-thirds (some experts think even more) of the entire income of all the world's underdeveloped countries.

What does this really add up to? In some notes for a course I once taught I found this breakdown of what fifty billion dollars would do (wars were cheaper in the old days): wire almost ten million rural and urban homes which lacked electricity; pay off all farm mortgages in the United States; equip with a bathroom the more than five million homes then without one; double all existing educational endowments; build four schools costing one-quarter of a million dollars in every county in America; spend five billion for flood control; establish a trust fund at three per cent to provide a $100 a month pension for every blind and deaf person in the country; build another Panama Canal; duplicate the cost of the U.S. recovery and relief program from 1932 to 1938; and, finally, use the $700 million-plus left over to endow a world peace organization.

All that, on fifty billion dollars. If the world could forego spending one hundred and twenty billion annually on arms, it doesn't take too much imagination to guess what could be done with the money here and elsewhere. In the underdeveloped countries in particular, the wealth now going into armaments could represent—literally—the difference between life and death.

These figures on the cost of armaments represent, of course, only dollars-and-cents. They do not reflect the real waste of war. Russia alone had more than seven and one-half million battle deaths in World War II; Germany had three and one-half million. Both totals fail to include casualties to the civilian population. Our own losses in World War II were light, at least in comparison with European countries, with less than three hundred thousand killed in battle, but the United States can have no such expectations the next time around.

It is at the ghastly human cost of war, rather than merely dollars and cents, that disarmament is primarily aimed. But it does no harm to remind the world's leaders of the heavy economic burden that is imposed on us by the arms race itself, even without war.

At this point disarmament is a seemingly hopeless quest. The Russians are suspicious to the point of paranoia, and there is little in our past record of negotiations with them on this subject to give us much encouragement. Our representatives must often be tempted to throw up their hands in despair. Yet, in spite of everything, I think we have no real choice but to persevere in our efforts.

Was it Einstein who said that World War IV, if it came, would be fought with sticks and stones? We dare not disarm alone, but we must never become too discouraged to talk. Disarmament is a dream, but a great dream, and sometime, somehow, a start has to be made to turn it into reality.

JAMES O'GARA

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A World-Wide Communications Network Is Involved

Cutting the Space Pie

RONALD STEEL

IT'S BEEN a long, long trail unwinding, but the Administration has at last come up with a coherent, if controversial, plan for the commercial development of space communications. Pie in the sky has long been a common sight over Washington, but if President Kennedy has his way, the profit potential of communications satellites may be translated into legislative action. Already the clatter of sharpened knives can be heard up and down Pennsylvania Avenue as Congress and the Administration get ready to divide the potentially lucrative space dollar. The decisions made in Washington during the next few months will likely determine the future development of international communications.

At stake is an emerging space network which by the end of the decade is expected to handle much of the world's telephone, telegraph and television communications. The struggle for control of this system has sparked a heated backstage debate in Washington. On one side, some scientists, legislators and administrators have argued that space communications should be under government ownership in order to preserve the public's enormous investment in space research. They have been challenged by advocates of private industry who believe that space satellites, just like telephone poles, lie within the private realm. The battle for ownership of the coming space network—which bears overtones of the 1946 debate on the development of atomic energy for peacetime uses—has finally come to a head.

Besieged by arguments on both sides, President Kennedy unveiled on February 7 his plan for extending private enterprise right out into space. In a long-awaited special message to Congress, he proposed that the government act as midwife to private industry by setting up a private corporation to own and operate a global system of satellite communications. This corporation would be given official blessing to transform the multi-billion dollar publicly financed space communications program into a privately-owned system paying dividends to its shareholders in the traditional free enterprise way. The space-age shareholders would be those individuals, business firms and communications companies who are expected to buy up to one billion dollars worth of stock which the proposed corporation would be empowered to issue.

The Administration's plan tries to walk a delicate path between private and public interests. By a complicated system of stock ownership it hopes to gain the financial support of the communications companies, while at the same time prevent any one of them from seizing monopoly control. The suggested profit-making corporation would be established and supervised by the government, but privately owned and financed. In this way the President expects to protect the public interest while still remaining true to free enterprise in communications. "Throughout our history," he told Congress, "this country's national communications system has been privately owned and operated, subject to government regulation of rates and service." Most of the Congress—and all of industry—seems to agree with the President, and a proposal by some liberals to have the government operate a space communications network appears to have little chance of success. Instead, the coming debate in Congress is likely to revolve around the question of whether ownership of the new corporation should be broadly based or restricted to a few companies.

THE PROBLEM began a year ago last October when the National Aeronautics and Space Administration placed Echo, the first reflecting communications satellite, into orbit and triggered a whole complex of policy questions. As Echo whirled around the earth, bouncing radio signals off its aluminum skin, the government preferred not to think about its political and economic implications. Finally, just a few days before he left office, General Eisenhower announced in December 1960 that "the government should aggressively encourage private enterprise in the establishment and operation of satellite relays for revenue-producing purposes." To nudge the plan along, the departing Administration offered to launch private industry's satellites at cost on government rockets.

The crossing of the New Frontier last January put all satellite plans in the deep freeze pending further study. While the administrators debated, American

RONALD STEEL, a previous contributor to these pages, writes on national and international affairs for a number of American journals.

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Telephone & Telegraph, the giant of the industry, wasted no time in announcing that it was preparing to spread its lines into space. On July 24 President Kennedy endorsed the Eisenhower plan and came out in favor of private ownership and operation of communications satellites, adding these conditions: private industry should provide global coverage even to remote areas; foreign nations and firms should be allowed to participate; and all domestic companies in the communications field should be permitted to use the system.

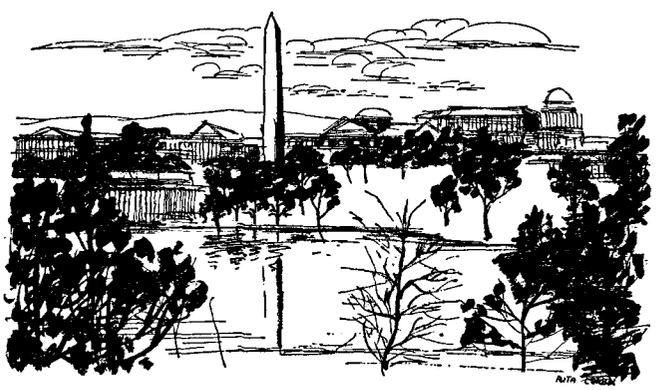
The last condition—opening up the satellite system to all comers—proved to be a booby-trap of complications. Roused by visions of astronomical profits (one scientist enthusiastically estimated that satellite revenues could hit $100 billion annually by 1975), private industry tried to cut up the still-unbaked space pie. The Federal Communications Commission moved to implement the President's plan by inviting ten international communications companies to hammer out a common policy. Predictably enough, AT&T took the lead by proposing a "non-profit" corporation owned by the ten communications carriers. The ten soon became four as the smaller firms dropped out, leaving the field to AT&T, International Telephone & Telegraph, Western Union and RCA. But even the four were unable to agree among themselves. Western Union charged AT&T with trying to "pre-empt a monopolistic position in both the international telephone and record [telegram] fields by seeking to become the exclusive purveyor" of satellite communications. AT&T's corporate rivals quickly pointed out that under the suggested "non-profit" corporation plan, AT&T would put up some eighty per cent of the capital and inevitably control the whole system.

Congress, hitherto oblivious to the squabbling at the FCC, began to take an interest in the economics of space communications. Senator Russell Long (D.-La.), a staunch foe of monopolies, headed subcommittee hearings on the FCC-sponsored industry plan. Pointedly, the Senator asked FCC chairman Newton Minow "whether the public interest, and not the interest of maintaining or extending monopolies" would be served by the FCC's proposals. Some thirty-five Democratic Congressmen also warned the President that under the proposed plan "AT&T would have a dominant and very probably a monopoly position" in space communications, and "would be the chosen instrument of the United States government to own and control civilian space communications."

STRUCK BY mounting opposition to its plan, the Administration retired to the sidelines to reflect further on a coherent manner of developing space communications. Having committed itself to private rather than public ownership, Administration officials tried to find a way to get the communications companies to finance the space venture, but at the same time preventing any company (i.e., AT&T) from gaining monopoly control. Believing that private companies would have to be lured into the plan by the likelihood of future profits, the President told Congress in his February message that "it must also be realized that such a system is by nature a government-created monopoly—and that we cannot in good conscience limit its ownership to a few existing companies and exclude automatically all other potential investors who have equal rights to own a part of this federally-developed enterprise."

Designed to be all things to all men, the Administration's new bill, drafted mainly by Dr. Edward Welsh, executive secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, would achieve this by issuing two kinds of stock in the corporation: Class A stock, carrying voting rights and open to purchase (at $1,000 per share) by anybody—the general public, business firms, and communications carriers; and Class B stock, which could be bought only by FCC-approved communications carriers. To head off domination by a single owner, no investor could own more than fifteen per cent of the total authorized stock, nor more than twenty-five per cent of the stock outstanding at any one time, nor choose more than two of a nine- to thirteen-man board of directors. The corporation could issue up to $1 billion of stock. Class B stock would carry no voting rights and pay no dividends. Its price would be determined by the board of directors and there would be no limit on the amount owned by any one company. Class B stock was "sweetened" by allowing the communications carriers to include their stock investment in the rate base they use for determining their charges. This, in other words, would insure them a return on their investment.

In presenting its bill, the Administration stressed that it will be a long time before anybody starts making any money off space communications. A major problem is that no one knows just how much it's going to cost to put a satellite network into operation, nor when it will start paying off. Studies indicate that some $500 million in capital investment will be needed to manufacture and launch the satellites, build the



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costly ground reception stations around the world, and set up network facilities. It is estimated that it will be the early 1970's before the system starts making a profit, and 1980 before it earns back its investment.

Despite its incentives to private industry, the Administration plan provides for considerable government supervision over operations. NASA, which has pioneered civilian satellite research, would control what satellites were shot into orbit. The FCC would be charged with determining rates, insuring non-discriminatory use, and insuring true competition in equipment-buying. The Justice Department would have to look out for monopoly control based on clandestine agreements by the corporate shareholders, and the Defense Department would launch the satellites on government rockets. It would be the State Department's job to supervise the nexus of international agreements between the space corporation and foreign governments.

How effective would this government control be? Congressional critics argue that the President's plan fails to protect the public interest and would not prevent monopoly control. Since the proposed bill allows a company to hold up to twenty-five per cent of the outstanding Class A stock (more than enough to insure effective control of most corporations), what is to prevent AT&T from gaining dominance? This was one of the arguments used by those who have been urging the government to retain control of space communications. The public paid for the research that will make space communications possible, they say, and the public ought not to turn over the benefits to private industry for commercial profits. These critics are outnumbered both in Congress and the Administration, but they have not yet been counted out. The coming Congressional debate over the President's bill will likely revolve around the vital question of how the privately-owned space corporation will be controlled. Will management be identical with ownership, and will ownership be effectively restricted to the few giants of international communications? A great issue is at stake here—one which may well determine the course of the enormous untapped potential of space communications.

AS WASHINGTON debates the President's new plan, a bill currently before Congress threatens to upset the NASA's patent policy and open the back door for a raid on the space agency's research program. Representative Emilio Daddario (D.-Conn.) has proposed a change in the Space Act of 1958 which would permit private contractors to gain patent rights to inventions arising out of NASA-sponsored research. To take one example, this means that RCA, which now has a contract with the space agency to build a relay communications satellite, would gain the patents arising from the project, even though the government paid for the research. As Lee Loevinger, the government's antitrust chief, said in opposing Daddario's bill, this could mean that the proposed satellite corporation would "have to go and bargain with the contractor for the use of" a government-financed invention. The administration is urging retention of the Space Act provision which allows NASA to retain title to government-financed research. The Defense Department, however, has long allowed research contractors to gain title to inventions arising out of research projects paid for by the government. Industry, of course, would like to see this policy extended to the whole realm of government research. Spurred by the Justice Department, the government's entire antiquated patent policy is likely to undergo a rigid examination in this session of Congress.

Whether Washington is ready or not, space technology spurts ahead. This May AT&T will launch the first privately-owned communications satellite (on a government rocket), with another scheduled for later in the year. NASA is also due to put another three satellites into orbit in 1962, including a "stationary" synchronous satellite, designed to hover over the earth, which could be the forerunner of a new kind of satellite network.

Within the next few months Congress will be charged with deciding the future course of an industry of virtually limitless potential. If it follows the President's lead, space communications, like peace-time atomic energy, will be turned over to the hands of private industry. But there is mounting opposition to any space "give-away" both within and outside of Congress. As it ponders the Administration's proposals, Congress must reflect on its duty to ensure that the public's vital interest in the emerging space network does not get lost in the contest for private profits. Unfortunately, it is only gradually awakening to that task.

Photo

My grandmother, by time diminished
to a grandson's eye, has no word
that lights the living face to oracle.
She sits and gazes as though
stillness were task enough
for a ghost's afternoon.

Breath? burdensome words?
I wonder she does not say *I love I remember*

Her lips have nothing for us, who set great store
by love, wonder, remember.

Which to believe? in her picture, gardens
grow her ninetieth summer. At window
actual death, a January ruin.

DANIEL BERRIGAN

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"Federal Aid: Second Round"

Washington, D. C.

TO THE EDITORS: I read with considerable interest your recent editorial [Feb. 23] criticizing the position taken by the Bishops of this country insofar as federal aid to education is concerned.

I have always regarded your publication as the maverick of Catholic periodicals. It appears to me that you do not have a full and complete understanding of the issues involved. It seemed rather strange to have you lined up on the side of Paul Blanshard and Eleanor Roosevelt. It is also apparent that the very exhaustive and informative release by the National Catholic Welfare Conference on this subject has had no impression on you.

It so happens that I have decided views on this matter. I belong to the Archdiocese of Indianapolis and for many, many, many years there has been a directive in that Archdiocese that Catholics send their children to parochial schools with a very few recognized exceptions. Failure to do this is a grave offense for which only the ordinary can grant absolution. I am heartily in accord with this. Of course I am not unmindful that in many parts of the country—due to the great increase in the Catholic population and often due to the economic situation—it is not possible for all Catholic children to attend parochial schools.

This is unfortunate because one who does not have the advantage of a parochial school education is decidedly handicapped. You will find almost invariably that those Catholics who are opposed to the parochial schools and those who give aid and comfort to Mr. Blanshard, Agnes Meyer and Eleanor Roosevelt are those who have failed to obtain an education at the hands of the sisters or brothers. I might say it is quite significant that the President never attended a parochial school although two of his brothers did attend parochial schools.

It should never be forgotten that the real aim of Catholic education is attainment of the ultimate goal—in fact the only goal—life everlasting. Without this all else fails. I quite realize that certain educators have criticized the Catholic system of education. I believe this is well expressed in the recent article by His Excellency the Most Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, Bishop of Brooklyn, who said: "A school system's effectiveness cannot be gauged merely by counting heads of so-called intellectuals who happen to be named in *Who's Who* or the *Social Register*." And Bishop McEntegart said further: "It is sometimes discouraging to find that in forums of educational discussion, little recognition is given to the great role which the Catholic college plays in our intellectual and cultural life."

You will find almost invariably with those Catholics who consistently oppose the parochial schools and any system of aid to parochial schools that they are utterly deficient in the fundamentals of our religion. How many of them could give a sufficient answer to the following: 1. What is the difference between a sacrament and a sacramental? 2. What is the Office of the Sacred Penitentiary? 3. What is the Office of the Congregation of Rites? 4. What are the marks of the Church? 5. What is the difference between a partial indulgence, a plenary indulgence and an indulgence of quarantine? 6. What is the meaning of toties quoties?

I could go on indefinitely as to the great attributes of the Church and these can be best understood and appreciated as a result of a parochial school education.

I have not the slightest doubt that criticism is good. In the Church's history there are many black marks but considering that the Church has withstood all attacks for a period of nearly two thousand years, then we must conclude that it is truly major league in all respects.

In conclusion I am reminded of a remark made many years ago when there was some little criticism of an edict of our then Bishop of Indianapolis. I was told: "If you follow the Bishop you will not go far wrong." In this day and age, with the church growing at such a rapid pace, it would seems to me that we should have unity rather than division.

I trust you will publish this letter and that you and the other members of your staff observe a very strict Lent.

JAMES J. LAUGHLIN

Toledo, Ohio

TO THE EDITORS: I wish to commend you for your sensible editorial in the February 23 issue. It seems to me that "Federal Aid: Second Round" states the case. Certainly our President and other Catholics in elective office have no cause to thank the Bishops for the position they took in 1961 in the school aid program. It would appear the Bishops intend to persist in their unfortunate course.

You so well state the case when you say that not only does the President have to resolve a constitutional question but he must do so in the light of hostility to the Church of a substantial segment of our populace. Only the passage of time and the proper conduct of elected and appointed officials of Catholic background will convince the Protestant majority that officials who

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are Catholics are not under the thumb of Rome, and that the Catholic parochial schools are as much entitled to aid as are the parochial schools of the Lutherans and other sects, as well as the so-called public schools.

DAN H. MCCULLOUGH

Washington, D.C.

TO THE EDITORS: May I protest against your editorial attitude in your discussions of the problem of Federal aid to private schools? You inveigh against over-emotionalism in discussion while at the same time, it seems to me, you are strongly contributing to the emotionalism by the terminology you choose in labelling the activities with which you disagree "dramatic forming of a political bloc," "battering-ram technique." You create the unfortunate impression that practically all discussion from one side has been intemperate. May I call to mind, for one thing, the finely reasoned study from the Legal Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference?

Moreover, while moral wisdom may permit abandonment of attempts to bring about changes when there is little hope of success, justice may well demand persistence in the face of what might seem hopeless odds. The establishment of civil rights is a case in point. "Our side" in the school question must be kept in the public eye.

(Rev.) JAMES F. KERINS, C.SS.R.

Uniondale, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS: Your editorial of February 23rd ["Federal Aid: Second Round"] attempts to assess the problem of federal aid in broad and balanced perspective. Its greatest deficiency, paradoxically, is its sophistication. You manifest a disease to which all men of intellect are prone: you expect more of men than men can give. Surely it is unfair to suggest that the Bishops "cast themselves as a minority pressure-group, trying to win special legislation by strategic, balance-of-power influence on legislation involving the general welfare." Half-crooked statements are the most difficult to make straight. I submit that this one is thoroughly unworthy of The Commonweal tradition. You may retort, "The cast was unwitting." But this hardly softens the sharp rebuke so subtly and quietly given.

The Bishops responded to a political situation not of their creation, one where great values were at stake. You say they responded, not illogically, but imprudently, in view of all the factors involved. This judgment is open to serious question.

In the first place it is the judgment of The Commonweal against the judgment of the American Bishops. In the second place there are a great number of—as you put it—"persuasive spokesmen for the Catholic community" who do not regret the stand the Bishops have taken or do take, who regard this stand as necessary and inevitable. And such spokesmen are equally concerned, with The Commonweal, to see urgent national needs met and religious antagonisms and misunderstandings allayed. Furthermore, I would suggest that it is a great over-simplification to say that this public controversy has "delayed by years the development of interreligious understanding which would permit the amicable solution of our present problems of justice and freedom in an American's choice of a religious school for his children."

On the contrary, though there have been extreme statements on both sides, there has been a genuinely constructive advance in the position of those who have, heretofore, been doggedly opposed to any consideration for parochial school children. Some evidence of this is found in the "shared-time" proposal being supported by the National Council of Churches, and the doughty general counsel of the American Jewish Congress, admitting that there are "some very cogent arguments" for tax exemptions or tax deductions for tuition payments. Though we have by no means created a *majority* sympathy for the plight of independent religious schools, we are in a better position in the public mind than we were before this controversy began. Concerned people from all walks of life have come to realize that this is not a question of self-interest but one which touches upon the fundamental rights and liberties of citizens.

Your view is, furthermore, open to question because the issue at stake here is whether or not we shall be able effectively to transmit a Christian view of life to our children in an increasingly secularist society. Both the teaching and the practice of the Church show that the Christian school is a most desirable, if not necessary, instrument in the building of the Christian person. The dimension that such a school adds to the secular educational program is as distinct and necessary as it is inseparable from a fully integrated curriculum. In the face of accepted public opinion as to the financing of such schools, you suggest that we *ought* to cede unquestioned right to the "national good." But it is a real question whether the national good can be conceived without reference to religious belief and moral values, whether the steady march of a unitary, religiously neutral school system will facilitate the preservation of those moral values without which there is no "good" at all.

The judgment of the Bishops—and of many others—is that we cannot cede without prejudicing the values we are consecrated to preserve. Parochial schools could not compete with a massively-aided public school system. To make our schools equal in excellence, apart from public aid, we would have to keep them very few. It is neither emotion, exaggeration, nor deception to say that the policy of the federal government, if implemented and sustained, heralds the end of the parochial school system as we know it. This school problem

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is an ever tightening noose choking the pastoral effectiveness of the Church in American society.

Schools function, in the first instance, not as arms of the government but as delegates of parents. Calm and reasoned public debate must coax public opinion not to sanction an ultimately disastrous disservice to itself. To assert the parental right and to seek to implement it by democratic means in A.D. 1962 in the United States of America, despite a hostile majority opinion, is the same as to state that not to do so would be the real injury to the national good, to the free society, and to the Christian view of man. Faced with a political necessity, the Bishops have taken their stand. Barring the sophistication, whose vision is awry?

(Rev.) DANIEL S. HAMILTON

Madison, Wisc.

TO THE EDITORS: I have read and re-read your editorial on "Federal Aid: Second Round" [Feb. 23]. Your statement of the issues is clear and concise, but it seems to me that some of your conclusions place expediency before principle. In order to "keep the peace" your recommendation implies that parents should be willing to bear a heavy financial penalty if they follow their conscience in choosing a school which assures them of a religious education for their children, which right has been granted by the First Amendment to the Constitution.

A lack of knowledge of the present and vision of the future is displayed when a statement is labeled "emotional" when it formulates the outcome of a continuing financial discrimination. Even now the private schools are losing desirable faculty members because of more attractive salaries in tax-supported institutions.

May not the root of much of the contention over the federal aid bill stem from the President's too dogmatic statement that such aid was unconstitutional? When we know that sixty per cent of our institutions of higher learning are private institutions and when we know that no cry of "unconstitutional" has been raised when federal funds have been allocated to them we are perplexed. Why should there be such a distinction between benefits for a high school senior and a college freshman?

Your surmise that round two may be as unsuccessful as round one may or may not prove true. My hope is that justice will be accomplished in the final round whatever number that may be. *(Mrs.)* MARY MAHONEY

Queens Village, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS: I have waited this long year for a Catholic editorial like The Commonweal gave us ["Federal Aid: Second Round," Feb. 23] on federal aid. A Catholic mother, with children in a parochial school, I ardently support your viewpoint, especially since it has been my own from the beginning of this unfortunate and unnecessary conflict. . .

The American people must be told that the motives and tactics of our Bishops do not always reflect accurately the tendencies of the whole Catholic population. So subservient is the Catholic laity in the eyes of many non-Catholics, that they might easily conclude that we automatically think what our Bishops think. And, with the exception of Cardinal Cushing, the Bishops have done little to dispel this conclusion.

In fact the main cause of the extreme distress I feel in this matter is the forthright attempt of our hierarchy to superimpose their political views on the Catholic people, and further, to assume a position of political leadership. This seems to me a very dangerous precedent, and one that should be checked now.

Corollary to this is the second cause of immediate concern to me—the failure of the Bishops to consult Catholic parents, locally or nationally, before undertaking this drive. I can think of no greater irony than this (if only irony were all!): a campaign waged in the name of justice for Catholic parents who themselves have not been given an opportunity to express their own views on the problem, a problem that must be solved in accordance with democratic procedure.

I salute you! And I pray that you will continue on the path you have begun. *(Mrs.)* JEANNE MCQUADE

EDITORS' NOTE: Without attempting to reply in detail to those letters which are critical of our editorial, some comments are in order.

First, we have always supported parochial schools and have consistently held that a strong constitutional argument can be made for some forms of federal aid to them. But there is a difference between having a good theoretical constitutional argument and having that argument clearly upheld by the courts.

Secondly, we are not, as Mrs. Mahoney suggests, placing "expediency before principle." On the contrary, to be willing to relinquish one's own just claims for the sake of the common good—especially when one's claims threaten the passage of needed public school aid bills—is also to act on principle. It is certainly justifiable to struggle for justice against "hopeless odds." But it seems to us unjustifiable to stand in the way of aid for others because our own claim is not recognized; such a stance looks uncomfortably like outright political coercion.

Thirdly, we happily agree that the study prepared in December by the N.C.W.C. Legal Department was a judicious and helpful document; it shows that it is possible for Catholics to talk about the issues without using intemperate, belligerent language.

Finally, we are pleased, if somewhat surprised, to learn from Mr. Laughlin that parochial school graduates can answer his questions. And, to offer at least some reassurance to one and all, we are observing a medium-strict Lent.

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THE SCREEN

Planet, Planet, Burning Bright

IT IS NOT too difficult to figure out why so many movie reviewers and the movie-going public are being taken in by an English film called "The Day the Earth Caught Fire" (Universal). A large number of adults have a secret yen for science fiction; and when a so-called "adult" and timely science-fiction thriller like this one comes along, they feel they can go to it without being the least bit ashamed of indulging in escapism.

The plot concerns the reactions in London when the whole world is thrown into confusion: the United States and the Soviet Union have set off simultaneous thermonuclear tests, and the resulting explosions have not only tilted the earth off its axis but also have sent it racing toward the sun. Suddenly the weather is changing everywhere—with floods in the Sahara, blizzards in New York, tornadoes in Russia, and England sweltering from heat and drought.

Since much of the movie is set in the offices of the London *Daily Express*, and since Arthur Christiansen, the former editor of this paper, serves as both the film's technical adviser and one of its chief characters (as the paper's editor), many of the scenes have a realism far above most science fiction. This is further enhanced by Les Bowie's special effects and the insertion of some exciting film clips. But Val Guest, who produced and directed "The Day the Earth Caught Fire," was not satisfied to turn out just a realistic and serious film about world catastrophe with a few dire warnings about nuclear testing. He saw fit to jazz up his film a bit, and he collaborated with Wolf Mankowitz on the script. (This is the team, you may remember, who turned out "Expresso Bongo." "Adult" in their movie seemed to be a synonym for "cynical" and "sexy.")

Their script about the destruction of the world has a lot of smart dialogue in the newspaper office, some of which is quite bright—but one tires of every statement about the coming cataclysm being answered with a wisecrack. And the film also has an illicit romance involving the angry hero-reporter (Edward Judd) and a government switchboard girl (Janet Munro). Furthermore, when chaos really descends on London, the camera concentrates on the antics of teenagers who go berserk in a series of orgies that might have been staged by Cecil B. DeMille in one of his biblical epics.

In its saner moments, this English attempt may remind viewers of "On the Beach," which was a far better movie, one in which Stanley Kramer established his characters as people and not just pawns caught in a world calamity. Because of its suspense, timely theme, and flashier moments, "The Day the Earth Caught Fire" will continue to win admirers. Perhaps it should be labeled "London's first adult science-fiction thriller."

ALSO FROM Great Britain comes an adult comedy; but "adult" in "Only Two Can Play" (Kingsley International) means "mature, with a generous sprinkling of sex-directed themes." Based on Kingsley Amis' novel *That Uncertain Feeling*, this satirical movie is a sort of English version of the American "Seven Year Itch" and mainly concerns an assistant librarian who is bored with his job, his wife and two young kids (who are a touch fed-up with his cleverness and charm too), and a smug Welsh town that doesn't particularly appreciate his talents. He is almost "an angry young man"; but with Peter Seller's skillful handling of the role, he is more wearily dissatisfied and wondering where he's going than he is angry or young. When the attractive, restless wife (Mai Zetterling) of the wealthy chairman of the library committee sees in Peter a new conquest, Peter thinks he knows where he's going—on a fling that will land him the sub-librarian job.

Bryan Forbes has written a witty screenplay from the Amis novel, and Sidney Gilliat has directed his fine cast exceedingly well, with appropriate lightness and also with appropriate sympathy for the husband and wife who really love each other but have grown restive in their drab apartment and dull routine. Virginia Maskell is quite effective as the wife who's devoted to her husband and children and understands his problems even when he comes home, finds her smothered in kids and housework, and asks, "Are you busy, darling?"

As with so many English pictures, the supporting cast is also good—especially, in this case, Kenneth Griffiths, as Peter's less worthy co-worker who is determinedly competing for the sub-librarian job, and Richard Attenborough, who is just right in his few scenes as a Welsh literary idol who hopes to push his cause with Peter's wife. Every now and then, the film's casual underplaying and the repeated efforts at drollery become a little tiresome; but director Gilliat's use of burlesque in Peter's and Mai's frustrating efforts at an affair is very funny indeed. "Only Two Can Play" is not the kind of a movie to send the young fry or your easily-shocked aunt to, but neither, in spite of its moral conclusions, does it pretend to be.

PRETENSION has ruined many a movie. Producer-director-writer Delmar Daves' "Rome Adventure" (Warners) has almost no plot, and what there is is very silly; but the picture is a big, elaborate, wide-screen, Technicolor affair that pretends to be a serious romantic drama about a girl's search for love in Italy. Quitting her job as librarian at Briarwood College for loaning the much-censured *Lovers Must Learn* (the very novel by Irving Fineman on which this ridiculous

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story is based), the girl goes to Italy, "where they really know what love is about."

She gets her first lesson in love from Rossano Brazzi, but when his kisses don't ring bells, she looks further. She has already shown no interest in Hampton Fancher, a likable young American, but he's presented as a prude who doesn't kiss on first meeting—and anyway he's studying Etruscan Archaeology. After these two rather attractive men, whom do you think she falls for? None other than dull Troy Donahue, who's on the rebound after Angie Dickinson had sense enough to walk out on him. The rest of this inconsequential story is concerned with how the girl's lessons in love progress with Troy, i.e., whether she will sleep with him or not.

Newcomer Suzanne Pleshette is lovely to look at as the girl; and the picture's scenery is magnificent. Photographer Charles Lawton uses his color cameras expertly to capture the feel of Rome as Troy and Suzanne chase around this beautiful city on his motor scooter. Not even the inane dialogue can spoil the stunning views. If you'd like a tourist-eye survey of all this beauty, you may be able to put up with the script that throws the cast for a loop—but don't say you weren't warned.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

THE STAGE

The Absurd and the Foolish

IF WE are going to continue talking about the "Theater of the Absurd," it might be a good idea to decide what we mean by the term. Richard Barr and Clinton Wilder, for example, were well-intentioned enough when they announced a series of plays under that awning at the Cherry Lane; the trouble was that scarcely half the works they presented qualified as "absurd," the others being merely unfamiliar, or vaguely experimental, or extreme in one way or another. Genet's "Deathwatch" is not an absurdist work, nor, strictly speaking, are Albee's "The Zoo Story" and "The Sandbox" (though "The American Dream" does get in under the wire), while Jack Richardson's "Gallows Humor" has neither absurdity nor interest to recommend it.

Beckett's "Endgame" and Ionesco's "The Killer" are of course central achievements of the movement—a movement of the recent imagination, let us say right here, not a marching society of like-minded dramatists—while Arrabal's "Picnic on the Battlefield" is a minor and not very successful product of the second or third wave, and Kenneth Koch's "Bertha" is a tiny, very amusing, offbeat but *sui generis* piece which to call "absurd" doesn't hurt but doesn't help much either.

The reason for this motley is hardly occult. It lies essentially in our ineradicable need for categorization—that process of inversion by which names, or labels, are called upon to cordon off and give actuality to objects and qualities, instead of taking their life from them, and that condition of cultural cowardice in which we debar the new and unexpected in the interests of safety or aggression, seeking habitations or delineated enemies. "I don't buy those absurdist plays," someone will say, and thereby put under interdict anything beyond "The Miracle Worker." Or else, "I'm dotty about the absurd," which means that the speaker is going to find himself in the kitchen with every lucubrator of the merely illogical or non-narrative and every head counselor of theatrical camping.

Now if we go on using "Theater of the Absurd," the primary justification is one of convenience, but we should keep in mind that its exemplars are only loosely united, as much by what they assert or bring forth as by what they oppose or depart from. Beckett and Ionesco are nearly as unlike as Ibsen and Chekhov, who have been similarly lumped together for their creation of a drama of new intentions and procedures. What we may safely say is that for a play to be absurdist it must, minimally, exhibit the overthrow of naturalism, the abandonment of straightforward narrative, a lack of interest in psychology and an abstract or fragmented conception of character.

Beyond that—and this is what makes it possible to distinguish the men from the boys, or the absurd from the merely foolish—there are certain positive characteristics of this kind of drama. Briefly, they include a pressure of literature and of intellectual history behind a work (a play like "The Apple" seems to have been written by an illiterate, albeit an energetic one), a pressure of ideas behind the language and a fusion of language and action in which neither is simply illustrative of the other but where speech constitutes an "action" in itself and actions are extensions of speech. And finally, there must be a sense that experience is not reducible to our formulas, resists our logic and patterns of conscious meaning, will not divide neatly into comic and tragic, or light and heavy, and is, in

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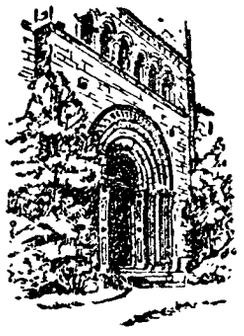

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short, absurd in a metaphysical and not just a behavioral sense.

To return to the productions at the Cherry Lane. I didn't see them all, but the ones I did see displayed the weaknesses and inadequacies we might have expected from so jerry-built and indiscriminate an enterprise. The range was from passable to catastrophic. "Endgame" ranks near "Godot" in the Beckett canon, but the Cherry Lane offering was so badly done that I had to hold fast to my memory of the published play in order to endure it. The chief handicap was Ben Piazza in the role of Clov. Mr. Piazza always turns up in absurdist plays, but I wish he would go in for Dr. Kildare or Gunsmoke, since his granitic deadness of speech and total catalepsy of movement have maimed or murdered everything I have seen him in. Apart from that, I am not a fan of Sudie Bond and I didn't think Alan Schneider's direction was nearly as imaginative or taut as it could have been.

"The Killer" came off better. It is curious that in Europe this play is generally considered Ionesco's masterpiece, while here it has met with irritation and a peculiar condescension. I saw it described by one of our best critics as "tedious"—which is a matter of taste—and by a lesser one as having for its subject the existence of evil even in innocence—which is a matter of complete misconception. It is "about" the fact of death, the absurdity which death introduces into our days and also about the ruinous failure of our humanist ideologies to cope with it. In any case, the production wasn't too bad; the cuts seemed mostly useful, the pace was lively, and Brandon Maggart played Bérenger without much vocal distinction but with a country-cousin innocence and Jimmy Savo-like ebullience that were diverting and appropriate.

THE CHERRY LANE'S program is over, but if you want to see a purportedly absurd work that is really a rather foolish one and thus exemplifies some of what I have been saying, "Oh Dad, Poor Dad, Mamma's Hung You in the Closet and I'm Feeling So Bad" promises to run for a long time. Arthur Kopit's play does have its engaging moments, but they are more a matter of performances and décor than of any intrinsic excellence. Jerome Robbins, in his debut as a theater director, has staged the work with éclat and inventiveness, and some knowledgeable and skillful actors are in sight, notably Barbara Harris, a comedienne of vast resources and stirring madness.

But Mr. Kopit has of course written no more than a superb example of college humor, wherein the grotesque serves for the witty and the titillating for the revelatory. The comedy is almost exclusively physical and depends on extravagance—a pet piranha and tenderly nursed Venus Fly-trap plants, a corpse in the bedroom—since verbally it has almost no existence at all, unless you consider this funny: "A Turkish Piastre, 1876, good year for Piastres"; or this: "Twelve months later [than the night of his conception] my son was born." There is no sense of ideas at work and there is assuredly nothing metaphysical, and nothing mysterious in this play which we might describe as the theater of the absurd filtered through Harvard, Madison Avenue, a reading of certain European *farceurs* and maybe a few fond memories of the early Marx Brothers' films.

Apropos of the current tendency to confuse capers with creative imagination and misanthropy with aesthetic daring, there is this remark of Ionesco which "Oh Dad's" author and admirers might reflect upon. "What is comical is the unusual in its pure state; nothing seems more surprising to me than that which is banal; the surreal is here, within grasp of our hands, in our everyday conversation." There is really no need to go so far afield if you want to effect a revolution in the drama. *(At the Phoenix.)* RICHARD GILMAN

Inverness

Shivering a little,
I stood in the night
Near a black hole
And heard
How the frogs sang.

It was a deep, dark night—
Wet, without a moon.

Not far from the hole,
On the other side of the road
Washed the sea.

The frogs sang
By the thousands, in their pond.
I could hear them
Singing on their side of the road
In their deep, dark hole.

On the other side—
And God alone knows how it happened,
I heard the still, calling voice
Of one frog,

Not singing,
Not part of the chorus,

Only the hidden call
Of a freshwater frog
That had somehow stumbled
Into the sea.

LEONARD WOLF

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BOOKS

Conscience of His Generation

ARLENE CROCE

IT IS a question whether Robert Warshow's *The Immediate Experience* has appeared too early or too late. The postwar absorption of intellectuals in popular culture, which in the late Warshow's work found an almost definitive expression, now seems as dead as the "commitment" of the 30's it partially served to replace.

The period of 1946-1955, with its re-evaluations, is still too close to be sensed as history and yet too remote to possess any lingering authority. It was the time of Henry Wallace, Hiss and the Rosenbergs, Korea and Senator McCarthy; Hungary, Suez. Chessman and Castro were to come. Yet even as one's patience grows thin on re-reading some of these extracts from the old mass-cultural essays on westerns and movie gangsters, Krazy Kat and horror comics, Clifford Odets ("poet of the Jewish middle class") and Arthur Miller ("Odets without the poetry"), it is impossible not to be saddened anew by the passing of a talent uniquely able to relate the ephemera of taste to a historic totality.

Only relate; that is, "in the whole world of culture that came into being in the 30's . . . the question to be asked is not: What is my opinion of all this? . . . The real question is: What is my relation to all this?" This was Warshow's own method for dealing with the "legacy of the 30's" in 1947. At that nodal point where politics and culture meet, however, delusion awaits the legatees of the 30's; sooner or later the unreal continuum is shattered. Warshow's last essay, left unfinished in 1955, I take to be prophetic. It is on "Re-Viewing the Russian Movies" and is written in a language as personal and haunted as anything in the book except the meditation on the death of his father; and in fact, the two essays might be read as companion pieces.

Warshow's writing is full of the conscience of his generation. Much of it should be incomprehensible to anyone who is not or never wanted to be a Socialist. The whole emotional burden of the writing is that of the dispossessed leftist intellectual —one who pays the high price of "alienation" for his anti-capitalism. This over-familiar attitude was not, in Warshow, a mere conditioned reflex; as Lionel Trilling says in his preface, it was not an "unearned attitude." The clichés, on the rare occasions when he utters them, are no easier to take from Warshow than from anyone else, but Warshow's political style is more honest, more intense and ironic, for having been bred into him. A passage on his father is illuminating:

". . . My father was born in 1876 in Russia, into that enlightenment which came so late but with such blinding clarity to the Jews of Eastern Europe . . . I suppose he was a materialist and a rationalist before he was sixteen, and apparently without the intense struggle which the adoption of this position involved for so many of his contemporaries. In America he was as a matter of course a Socialist and took some active part in the vicissitudes of that movement for about fifty years; shortly before his death he was involved in an abortive effort to reunite its remaining fragments. He belonged to the Socialist movement as one belongs to a certain city or a certain neighborhood: it gave him his friends and it embodied his culture—so fully, indeed, that he had little need for the more formal objects of culture, such as books, but was able to expend his considerable excess of intellectual energy in the public atmosphere of meetings and discussions, in the masculine (and indefinably 'Jewish') rituals of card-playing, and in a peculiarly serious concern with the daily newspaper, which seemed always to yield more to his reading than it has ever done to mine."

It is not a "typically American" story nor is it the typical experience of an American to be able to apply, as Warshow does, to a review of the Communist documentary film *Tsar to Lenin* something of his own life:

"There was even a brief shot of a man I had met: Victor Chernov, a member of Kerensky's government. When I was a child I sat once at the dinner table while the exiled Chernov talked in Russian with the grownups. He seemed to me a wonderfully big and strong man, with a great voice and beautiful white hair. I knew nothing, really, of who he was or what he had done, and I could not understand a word that was said. I stared at him for that hour or so and thought: he was there, he was part of it."

If in concentrating on Warshow's political style I neglect his fine essays on Chaplin and Dreyer it is because in the perspective of his work the art of film is a minor consideration. He was fascinated more and more by movies, but obviously was not a movie critic. His subject was politics; he was a critic of culture. More particularly, he was an especially sharp critic of the culture of his own kind and kin. In the essay in which he revisits the Soviet version of the Revolution, the classics of Eisenstein, Pudovkin and Dovzhenko are seen to be "a triumph of art over humanity."

"It made me, for a while, quit sick of the art of the cinema, and sick also of the people who sat with me in the audience, *mes semblables* whom I suspected of being either cinema enthusiasts or Communists—and I wasn't always sure which was worse." Thus there is a light at the end of this book that was not there at the beginning. In 1947, also, Warshow could write of Sacco and Vanzetti: "The excitement that grew up around their case was the last strong expression of uncorrupted radicalism: In 1927, nobody really wanted

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The Immediate Experience: Movies, Comics, Theatre and Other Aspects of Popular Culture. By Robert Warshow. Doubleday. $4.50.

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anything except that justice should win." But from recently assessed evidence, it is now possible to doubt even this.

1927, Sacco and Vanzetti; 1937, Spain and Stalinism; 1947, mass culture and "the problem of communication." To Warshow these are the successive phenomena with which American intellectuals have had to deal. He shows how an "uncorrupted radicalism" declined to the "organized mass disingenuousness" of the 30's intellectuals (for whom *The Grapes of Wrath* was "a great novel," *Confession of a Nazi Spy* "a serious movie," and "Ballad for Americans" "an inspiring song"); and how *that* came to set the tone of popular culture from which honest communication is debarred. Now, this is not the pop culture of cheap novels, cheap movies and comic books. It is the middlebrow culture created by the betrayal of intellectuals, and the price paid was the eventual insulation of all imaginative experience from reality. It is, in other words, the cultural residue of a de-politicized Stalinism that intellectuals have to confront, or had to in the post-war years.

The problem was not then, as he believed, one of "liberal ideology as such." It was merely to try to live with what was vital and attractive in popular culture, to make some sense out of westerns and gangster films. But here lay Warshow's biggest error as a critic of American movies. In treating the works of a John Ford or a Howard Hawks as unconscious sociological allegories, it never occurred to him that these films could exist on a plane of imaginative reality quite beyond the devastated reaches of Stalinized art, and that they could contain a non-intellectual force of poetry not to be condescended to by the socially conscientious. The intellectual's characteristic error, born of Marxist presumption, is to confuse the creative range of American movies with their physical means of production, as if this made them automatically anonymous. But Marxist presumptions die hard, and while Warshow was busy ignoring those aspects of the movies that might invalidate his theory of popular culture, other more respectable outlets were undergoing a reactivation of the old perversion.

You catch up with these developments, in Warshow's chronicle, about the year 1953. That was the year—the two events are interestingly linked in this book—of the Rosenbergs' execution and the production of Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*, which Warshow understands brilliantly as a disguised tract about the persecution of "innocent" Communists. And the problem here, as in those films toward which Warshow's finer instincts drew him—the films of the Wyler-Stevens-Kramer axis—was one of liberal ideology as such. Was it not an ideology that was being celebrated there in the dark theater, where "they could experience together the sense of their own being, their close community of rightmindedness in the orthodoxy of 'dissent'?" Was it not the new Stalinism of the liberals?

And if it can be admitted, as now we are beginning to do, that Nicola Sacco lied about his innocence in the same way, though not for the identical reason, that Warshow says Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs lied about theirs—out of a mystical belief in the purity of their political truth as distinct from objective politics, what is there left to claim for an "uncorrupted radicalism?" Was there a devil in the psyche of the American Left antecedent to Stalinism, or is Stalinism a betrayal so old no one remembers it? In 1927, when "nobody really wanted anything except that justice should win," Eisenstein sat up nights in Moscow editing Trotsky, the hero, out of *Ten Days that Shook the World*, embalming the corpse of the Revolution. "It is hard to feel the pathos of their [i.e., the Soviet directors'] lives," Warshow writes, "when you see them playing with corpses; if they had got the chance, they would have made a handsome montage of my corpse too, and given it a meaning—their meaning and not mine."

In *The Immediate Experience* we experience the immediate past. As if in double mirrors, we look back at a man looking back. Perhaps nothing in that amazingly revealing essay on the Russian cinema is more significant than that it is unfinished.

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The Papal Council and The Gospel. Edited by Kristen Skydsgaard. Augsburg. $3.95.
The Ecumenical Movement. By Norman Goodal. Oxford. $4.50.
On The Road to Unity. By Samuel McCrea Cavert. Harper. $3.75.

by George Tavard

WITH its recently completed third plenary assembly in New Delhi, the World Council of Churches has entered a new phase of development. The nature of that phase will be determined to a great extent by the documents adopted at New Delhi, which will be studied all over the world in the months to come.

The phase now opening will coincide with the historical period of the Catholic Church's Second Council of the Vatican. This is bound to affect developments in Protestant ecumenism, especially if the Council succeeds in giving a new start to the Catholic approach to Protestantism. Officials of the World Council have been quite restrained in their comments on the Council's prospects. But that is not true of all Protestants. Several Lutherans, from both Europe and America, have published a book-length study of this topic, *The Papal Council and the Gospel,* edited by Kristen Skydsgaard of the University of Copenhagen. The title itself is badly chosen, since there is no such thing in Church history as a Papal Council, a Council being always a meeting of many bishops.

Yet the title does correspond to the less constructive part of the book. Ernest Kinder, an otherwise well-informed German critic of Catholicism, replies negatively to the premature question, "will the Council be ecumenical?" It will not be, he believes, the free, evangelical Council that Luther wanted. A truly ecumenical Council, for Dr. Kinder, must have five characteristics: it must embrace all churches; it must be composed of laymen as well as clergy; it must be "free," uninfluenced by non-theological factors; it must aim at Christian unity; and its authority must come only from the scriptural value of its conclusions. But no Council of the past has ever fulfilled all these conditions, so that the obvious question to be put to Dr. Kinder is: can such a Council exist? Or does Lutheranism entertain a purely utopian notion of the Council?

Fortunately, other voices are heard in this book. In "Luther's attitude toward Church Councils," Professor Jaroslav Pelikan asserts that "in a formal sense, if not in a material sense, Trent met Luther's requirements for a Council," so that Lutherans should not assume beforehand that the future Council will not meet these requirements. In George Lindbeck's, "Roman Catholicism on the eve of the Council" a "moderate optimism" is expressed, the Church's theological revival presenting many hopeful aspects. And in Dr. Skydsgaard's very inspiring essay, so many things are posited as common to Catholics and Lutherans that the latter are advised that they cannot remain indifferent, since "the two Churches *cannot* get along without each other today."

I am not so sure about the inevitability of their coexistence, but at least the Council should be a challenge to Lutherans to give valid shape to their evangelical insights, just as Lutheranism is a constant challenge to Catholics to give evangelical depth to their traditions and institutions. Peter Brunner, in a final chapter, envisions a time when all may realize that a *division* in faith is also a division *in faith.* The point that divides most—faith—is the point that unites most, for the faith of all is in the one Redeemer Jesus Christ.

Undoubtedly, Catholics will be annoyed by certain statements, particularly by such notions as that "the Roman Catholic Church is the church by which the division of Christendom is caused and maintained in an extraordinary way and with unusual force." The Church, which is for us the guardian of unity, looks to Lutherans as the cause of disunion. This paradox should at least teach us one thing: Lutherans do not understand institutional unity apart from the evangelical concern for forgiveness of sin. Only insofar as we emphasize this center of the Gospel can we make our doctrine on unity intelligible to them.

The World Council of Churches, at its New Delhi stage, also entered a course where unity and mission tend to coincide. The amalgamation of the World Council and the International Missionary Council, which had been in the air for years, is now a fact. It may be thought that it was unavoidably inscribed in the purpose of the World Council. Henceforth, the unity that the World Council will try to promote will have missionary motivations and implications. Its purpose will be to bear witness, not only to the Christians' ability to live together, but also to the Lord's intention of preaching the Gospel to all nations. The Church's unity is at the service of the world. The World Council of Churches will therefore attempt, still more than in the past, to give to the world a united witness to the truth of Christ.

Norman Goodall's volume, *The Ecumenical Movement,* is very much to the point in this connection. Its author has been a staff member of both the Missionary Council and the World Council. He has written a his

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torical outline of the ecumenical movement mainly from the point of view of the missions, and in the process has added many details to the classical introductions to ecumenism. The book's few pages on the Catholic Church are sympathetically written and will help to clear the atmosphere. They stress the initiative given by John XXIII through the Pontifical Secretariat for the Promotion of the Unity of Christians, rather than the more restrained attitudes of the past.

This cannot entirely be said of Samuel McCrea Cavert's interesting reflections on the ecumenical movement, *On the Road to Christian Unity*. Dr. McCrea Cavert also has been associated with the World Council for many years. His book is important for the insight it provides into the personal feelings, motivations and thoughts of a devoted ecumenical worker. Yet its very subjectivity tends to detract from its value. Thus the contribution of Catholics to ecumenical thought and action is not seen in itself, with its deep theological emphasis on matters of faith, but simply as one of the "roads that diverge" from the ecumenical movement. Yet the truth is that the ecumenical movement is not the monopoly of the World Council of Churches.

Concern for unity is to be measured by what a Church does to preserve or to further unity as that Church understands it, not by mere membership in an institution with an ecumenical purpose. Contrary to what is suggested by Dr. Cavert, the ecumenical movement is not an organization. It is, precisely, a movement; it is a direction taken by Christian thought in our century; it has need of those who belong to the World Council and, no less, those who cannot at this time be part of that organism.

To no small degree, the future of the World Council of Churches will depend on whether or not its member-churches can recognize ecumenism when it takes other forms than their own. The Anglican and Protestant leaders who have visited John XXIII in the past months have led the way. It is to be hoped that their example will be understood.

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A Quality of Honesty

Key to the Door. By Alan Sillitoe. Knopf. $5.95.

by Samuel Hynes

ONE OF our motives—perhaps our primary motive—for reading fiction is curiosity: we want to know more about other people than experience will tell us. At its worst, this curiosity is a kind of voyeurism, window-peeping at the exploits of high-breasted heroines; but at best it is an expression at once of sympathy and a desire for usable knowledge—we must know men's lives in order that we may imagine them, and we must imagine in order to sympathize.

This latter kind of curiosity was, I think, a factor in the extraordinary success of Alan Sillitoe's *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*. The book was a good but unexceptional example of realistic fiction, with nothing in the form or style that hadn't been done before; what it had that captured and held readers was curiosity-value. People who read novels don't, as a rule, know much about the working class (the serious novel is a supremely bourgeois art form). They have read Zola, of course, and *Sons and Lovers*, but they suspect that their information may be out of date. What is a worker like these days? What does he do? What does he want? *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* answered questions like these, and answered them with an authority that was undeniable. It was quite rightly regarded as the best novel of British working-class life to appear in recent years (though this isn't quite the high praise it seems to be if you reflect that there have been almost no other contenders for the title—the only serious rival, ironically enough, was written by an American, Clancy Sogal's *Weekend in Dinlock*).

Sillitoe's second book, a collection of short stories called *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner*, won the Hawthornden Prize for 1959, and deserved to; it has the same air of authenticity that made *Saturday Night* a good novel, and the title story particularly gives a personal definition to the idea of class war that is disturbing and convincing. His second novel, *The General*, was apparently a realistic writer's attempt to escape the limitations of his genre. It didn't work, and the best thing to do is forget it.

In his new novel, Sillitoe returns to realism, and to the working class, though more ambitiously than before. *Key to the Door* is about the making of a generation, the one that grew up just too late to fight in the Second World War. It traces that generation from its conception in the late twenties, through the depression, to its coming of age in the late forties. The center of the narrative is Brian Seaton, older brother of the hero of *Saturday Night*, but this time Sillitoe has surrounded his center with all the multiplicity of factors that shaped his working-class mind: the human factors—his blacksmith grandfather, his illiterate father and his bitter mother, his petty-criminal cousins and his brutal schoolmaster, his women; and the environmental factors—the condemned slum dwellings, the garbage dumps, the factories and the pubs. All these con-

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tribute to the man who is Brian Seaton, and prepare him for the climactic action of the book, when Brian, a drafted soldier in the Malayan jungles, faces a Communist guerrilla, and recognizes that he has stronger ties to this Eastern stranger than he has to the British establishment which he is defending.

The "key" of the title is the key which opens the door to maturity and freedom. But freedom for Sillitoe does not mean an escape from class; Brian wants freedom from poverty, from regimentation, and from the power of the governing classes, but he returns willingly to Nottingham at the book's end, to live his freedom among the workers. His strongest loyalty is to his class, and the cement of that loyalty is his sense of the need for solidarity against the whole of society above him. This is not a political position—indeed the socialism of the workers is treated as an emotion rather than as a theory, and Brian's political convictions are no clearer at the end of the book than at the beginning.

Like *Saturday Night, Key to the Door* has curiosity-value of the best kind. It is not a well-made novel (Sillitoe has a good deal of trouble with shifts in time, and the narrative frequently seems to slip out of focus); but it has the credibility of the accurately observed and recorded. Sillitoe has a wonderful eye and a sensitive ear; but more than this, he can manage a quality of relentless honesty in his treatment of attitudes and emotions. His workers are not, as the dust-jacket blurb claims, full of "earthiness and simplicity and wisdom"; they are full of wrath and resentment and fierce bitterness; they hate their poverty and squalor, and they hate the upper classes who are free of it. This is not a book which will make you more comfortable among the workers; but it may make it possible for you to imagine them.

REVIEWERS

Arlene Croce has written for *Film Culture, The Film Quarterly,* and other publications.

Father George H. Tavard is the author of *Holy Writ or Holy Church.*

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The Commonweal Approach

OF ALL THE EFFORTS that have been made to summarize this magazine's point of view, perhaps the thumbnail description that comes the closest to the truth remains the statement that The Commonweal represents "not a movement but an attitude."

That attitude is a Catholic attitude, and The Commonweal is generally referred to as a Catholic publication, although it is not, to use the term people apply to diocesan papers and magazines published by religious communities, an "official" Catholic publication. Rather, The Commonweal is, quite simply, a magazine published by men who are themselves Catholic and who endeavor to express a point of view on temporal matters in conformity with their religious principles. . . .

Since the editors of this magazine are laymen, its primary concern is with the temporal order, which is the specific province of the layman. In the light of their religious beliefs, the editors see the temporal order as being directly related to the spiritual, and their day-to-day judgments reflect this conviction.

Add to this the further fact that contributors to The Commonweal include many of the world's ablest Catholic writers, and it is not hard to see what distinguishes this magazine from comparable "secular" journals and why the magazine is generally thought of as Catholic. But there is nothing more "officially" Catholic about The Commonweal than this, and the editors have always gone to some lengths to make this fact quite clear. . . .

There is no secret about the fact that The Commonweal frequently represents a minority point of view—or at least a point of view quite different from that found in many diocesan papers and Catholic magazines. For example, the editors were —and are—unable to share the enthusiasm of most American Catholic publications for Generalissimo Franco. In Father Coughlin's era The Commonweal saw his *Social Justice* as intolerant and totalitarian in spirit, and said so. More recently, while some "official" Catholic publications heaped praise on Senator McCarthy and scorn upon his critics, the editors of this magazine viewed his "crusade" in a context of national fear and self-doubt and felt it had little to do with any rational means of dealing with the Communist threat.

That our opinions on such public questions drew criticisms and disagreement from other Catholics did not surprise us. . . . There is nothing extraordinary about the fact that Catholics frequently disagree on specific questions of the day. Indeed, the only extraordinary thing would be if this were not the case. But what is disturbing is the way some Catholics try to elevate personal judgments on passing events or political figures into dogmas of orthodoxy which all must hold if they are not to be labeled "pseudo" or "so-called" Catholics.

—from the 35th Anniversary issue

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